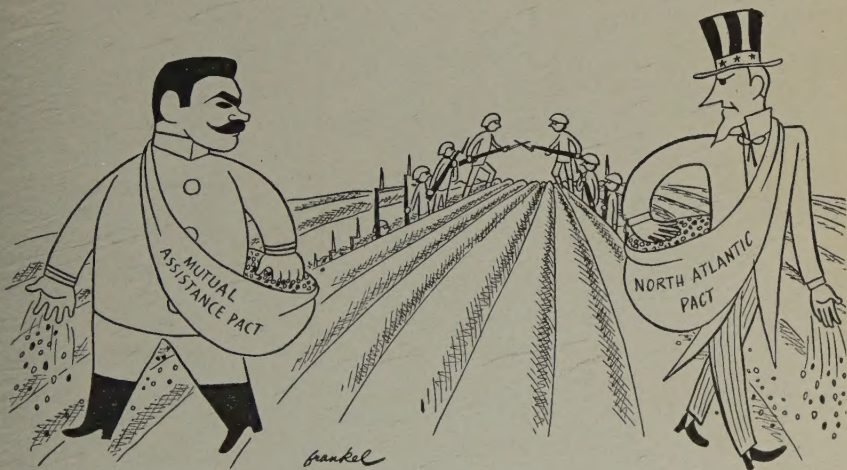


Fellowship

April 1949

Vol. XV—No. 4

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Spring Planting

Love and Pride, by André Trocmé

The Conscientious Combatant, by Alfred Hassler

Jim Crow in Africa, by D. and M. Randall

Finland Tries A New Way, by André Trocmé

THIS MONTH

IT'S considered bad editorial policy to run two articles by the same author in one issue—except when somebody like André Trocmé, European secretary of the IFOR, sends in one month two such manuscripts as *Love and Pride* and *Finland Tries A New Way* . . . COs who appeared before draft boards to “justify” their position will enjoy the twist when *The Conscientious Combatant* has to do the same thing. Author Hassler and Artist Frankel both met draft boards personally during the late unpleasantness . . . And from South Africa, scene of race rioting, comes *Jim Crow in Africa*, which will explain why riots occur. It's by FOR-members Darrell and Mildred Randall.

NEXT MONTH

T IRED of being misunderstood, FOR-member Frederick Walther, Jr., takes a firm stand in *Don't Call Me Pacifist!*, to which many a reader will mutter a heartfelt “Me too” . . . Ex-naval officer Hollis Wyman, Jr., who saw plenty of combat, says it's “never again” for him in *The Horrors of Peace* . . . Milton Mayer writes his usual stimulating essay . . . and plenty of other good things as well.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

April, 1949

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Subheads

Extremist

Being a very modest sort of revolutionary, with the fixed conviction that a number of different roads may lead to the same goal and that what is revolutionary pacifism to one man may be horse-radish to another, we try to refrain from offering any fixed directions to our brethren in the faith. What we would like to suggest at the moment, modestly and ready to run for shelter at the slightest sign of an unkind word, is that humor and perspective are two qualities that pacifists might well cultivate.

What set off this mild tirade was reading, for the umptieth time, an ardent pacifist's statement that nothing good can be accomplished by legislation, but only by the process of changing individuals. This is a position rivalled in popularity only by its opposite number: that you can't make any changes in individual attitudes until enabling legislation has been passed.

The immediate issue was race

prejudice: the civil rights of the Negro, ran the argument, cannot be at all protected by legislation, but only by changing the public attitude. We submit for the negative the following:

There are in operation now a number of housing cooperatives. As befits cooperatives, they are perfectly willing to have interracial memberships—the "right attitude" is there. But they are not permitted to be both democratic and successful because the Federal Housing Administration refuses to approve mortgages for interracial communities. Do we make our point?

Bedfellows

In the National Service Life Insurance policies, which are the civilian policies to which veterans of the last war could convert their wartime insurance when they were discharged, appears the following provision:

"Any person guilty of mutiny, treason, spying, desertion, or who, because of conscientious objections, refuses to perform service in the land or naval forces of the United States, or refuses to wear the uniform of such forces, shall forfeit all rights to this insurance."

April, 1949

Responsibility

The best piece of news we heard this last month never appeared in the newspapers, which is exactly right, too. The story is of a large corporation's discovery that one of its minor employees had been engaged in small-scale embezzling at its expense. Instead of screaming with righteous indignation and hollering for the cops, corporation officials quietly set to gathering the facts. When these were in hand the corporation decided not to prosecute, explaining that the man had been paid what was obviously an inadequate salary and that the corporation thus bore at least a share of the responsibility for his "crime."

This is an advance in insight of such magnitude that we are inclined to think it more than balances all the bad news of the month, from the North Atlantic Pact on down.

Incidental Intelligence

In the library of Military Intelligence headquarters on Palm Island in Biscayne Bay, Florida, there is a copy of *The Power of Non-Violence*, by Richard Gregg.

Citizen and the World

One of our linguistic associates has translated for us the accounts in the French newspapers of the attempts of "world-citizen" Garry Davis and some of his associates to appeal directly to the UN Assembly last fall for peace. The response, as Davis began to speak, was:

- (1) One delegate applauded;
- (2) Other delegates "smiled";
- (3) Police hustled Davis and the others who rose one by one to take

up the statement, out to jail. One of the group, a newspaper writer, was "dragged out of the assembly hall, horribly beaten, with several teeth knocked out and his gums torn."

The pronouncement, which one of the group finally succeeded in making, called for an end to nationalism and national rivalries and for peace and a world government.

Herbert Evatt of Australia, who was presiding at the time, told newspapermen: "These occurrences seem to have been planned and organized. I am a little alarmed."

Now why should an organization set up to build a world order and preserve peace be alarmed at indications that at least some people would like it to move a little faster?

Straws in a Foolish Wind

A "patriotic rally" in Boston's Faneuil Hall on February 20 attracted 43 spectators in addition to 26 participants. Mayor Curley, who recently served a prison sentence for using the mails to defraud, called the turn-out "repulsive," and decided to try to get President Truman for the Fourth of July, to "stimulate some patriotism in the people of this city." Mayor Curley was pardoned by President Truman.

* * *

Newspapermen in Moscow and Detroit are required to take loyalty oaths in order to be accredited as reporters.

* * *

The Georgia State Senate is considering a bill to bar all foreign-born citizens from holding elective office.

Love and Pride

AN EASTER MEDITATION BY ANDRÉ TROCMÉ

IN ADOLESCENCE, no two emotions are more similar than those of love and pride: the desire to embrace all things, and the will to power. Theirs are the warmest hearts who most readily fall prey to the passion of jealousy, and the violence entailed by it.

What is true of individuals seems to be true of religions also. Christianity itself, the religion of Divine Love, gripped by a conquering ardor, wanted to embrace the whole world and compel it to believe.

What is true of religions is true today of social ideologies. Communism has decided to force the world to be happy. Occidental ideology attempts to force it to remain free!

What is true of ideologies is also true of people, particularly of young people. The generosity of their hearts courses through their veins with a burning ardor. "You don't love me? I'll *make* you love me. I'll overwhelm you with my generosity!" But such generosity as this humiliates the beneficiary—the receiver is inwardly in revolt against the giver. The peoples of the world yearn for justice, and not for the alms doled out to them by the more fortunate.

When our crusading love batters itself against the scorn and refusal of others, two paths lie open to us. The first is to follow our natural inclination: "You don't love me? Well, then, I'll whip you into loving me!" In the parable of the husbandmen of the vineyard, this

is what God says to his people, who have refused to bring him the fruits of all the love he has lavished on them. "I shall kill them," cries God, "and I shall give the vineyard to others." God's servants on earth are very close to becoming assassins as soon as they are dominated by the obsessive desire to establish the triumph of their King.

Only the knowledge of Jesus Christ can lead us along another path. Knowledge of Jesus Christ is not merely knowledge of his teachings, for the noblest of principles may be impracticable. Nor does it suffice to maintain, against all contrary appearances, that the methods of Jesus succeed in resolving all the problems of humanity. To know Jesus Christ is to grasp the reality of a historical event. Even as the course of history was modified by the battles of Poitiers, Hastings and Waterloo, just so, and more radically still, it was transformed by the Battle of the Cross, in which God refused to impose his love on the world by force, in order to *give* it freely, without hope of return, in sacrifice.

Whatever one may say, and even though we may suppose that God was always the God of Love and sacrifice, and in no way altered his own character, from the purely human, historical point of view, there have existed two separate periods in time, "Before-the-Cross" and "After-the-Cross," and theologians who claim that these two periods are identical are philos-

ophers, but they are not historians. The day of Jesus' death, an event took place which must forevermore be reckoned with. Even if the majority of men consider the way of the Cross impracticable and dangerous, the historical act was no less accomplished by God, the trail was blazed, and all refusal to follow it, that is, all refusal to believe, results in a practical atheism, a historical impasse.

Clearly, the way of the Cross does not lead to success, but, being sacrifice, it apparently sacrifices the highest values, the finest human beings, the most precious worldly goods and delivers them into the hands of the evildoer. Jesus was delivered into the hands

of the most evil, stupid, vain and cowardly men of his time, who overcame him with the utmost ease. In our own day, we can expect to see the noblest values of Christian civilization treated in the same way by the most brutal forces of materialism. But, while defense of these values by violence would be futile, God quietly prepares, in humility, yet with the power of the supernatural, the triumphant resurrection of that which has been sacrificed.

We have nothing to fear from the atomic age, so long as there are still men in the world who know Jesus Christ, the historical event and who believe in the God of sacrificed love.

Ultimatum

Now the frontiers are all closed.

There is no other country we can run away to.

There is no ocean we can cross over.

At last we must turn and live with one another.

We cannot escape this day any longer.

*We cannot continue to choose between good and evil
(the good for ourselves, the evil for our neighbors);*

We must all bear the equal burden.

At last we who have been running away must turn and face it.

There is no room for hate left in the world we must live in.

Now we must learn love. We can no longer escape it.

We can no longer escape from one another.

*Love is no longer a theme for eloquence, or a way of life for a
few to choose whose hearts can decide it.*

It is the sternest necessity; the unequivocal ultimatum.

There is no other way out; there is no country we can flee to.

There is no man on earth who must not face this task now.

PEGGY POND CHURCH

Fellowship

The Conscientious Combatant

By ALFRED HASSLER

Illustrations by Simon Frankel



HISTORIANS WERE TO SAY later on that the beginning of the end of the war system came with the announcement of Executive Order 54312. The Order was released by the White House, without any previous warning, on the morning of January 23, 1950. Stripped of its technical verbiage, it instructed Selective Service boards and the armed forces to induct into combat units only men who were conscientiously convinced that they could take part in actual combat activities.

At first no one thought much about it. There were relatively few conscientious objectors in the country, and it seemed reasonable to assume that everyone else of draft age would be a conscientious combatant. It was only with the appearance of Arthur Jones, a sophomore at a midwestern state university, before his local draft board, that the implications of Executive Order 54312 began to appear.

Jones was the first man to be called up by any draft board for questioning on Form 48, which under the Order had to be filled out by all registrants or volunteers who wished to be classified 1-A-C, the new classification for conscientious combatants.

Jones had filled out Form 48 without any trepidations. He felt himself to be normally patriotic, and virile enough to reject with horror the idea of anything less than actual combat service. He was in excellent physical health, played left end on the football team, could not remember having ever had any serious qualms of conscience about anything, and was a non-com in the college ROTC. The thing, he felt, was a cinch.

ARTHUR JONES appeared before his draft board on the morning of March 2, 1950. He found himself looking into the sympathetic faces of the chairman, Mr. Belknap, and the two other members, Mr. Creech and Mr. Smallwood.

The chairman opened the hearing by confirming certain details concerning Arthur Jones' age, citizenship, ancestry, and similar vital statistics, all of which were carefully checked by Mrs. Smallwood, who was acting as secretary of the Board. With that out of the way, Mr. Belknap cleared his throat.

"Arthur," he began kindly, "we want you to be completely at ease during this hearing. No one here will attempt to embarrass or con-

fuse you. We all respect your convictions in this matter; it is simply our duty under the law to make sure that they *are* your convictions, seriously and sincerely held. If you can persuade us that such is the case, this Board will be delighted to classify you as you have requested."

Arthur nodded in a composed way, and the chairman cleared his throat and glanced at the papers he held in his hand.

"Now," he resumed in a more businesslike tone, "the Board was a little uncertain about your background and former history. They do not seem to bear out your somewhat bellicose assertions about your personality. In fact," Mr. Belknap peered over his spectacles at Jones, "you seem to have led a singularly peaceful life."

"Mr. Jones," demanded the piping voice of Mr. Creech, "have you never assaulted *anyone*?"

"Why no," said Jones, looking a little shocked. "That's against the law, isn't it?"

"It wouldn't even have to have been with intent to kill," pleaded Mr. Creech. "Just a case of simple assault and battery. Haven't you anything like that in your background, Jones?"

"No," said Jones uncertainly, "I'm afraid I haven't."

"Well, well," said Mr. Belknap reassuringly, "that's not conclusive. You're young yet. Maybe you didn't really have an opportunity. Let's try another tack. Arthur, what would you do if you were walking along the street with your mother and a drunk insulted her?"

The young man's eyes flashed.

"I'd punch him in the nose, Mr. Belknap," he said firmly.

"Bravo!" exclaimed the chair-

man, and Mr. Creech clapped his hands together.

"Would you kill him?" demanded Mr. Smallwood skeptically.

Jones looked at him blankly.

"Kill him?" he repeated. "A drunk? For an insult?"

"Suppose he came at you with a deadly weapon?" suggested Mr. Belknap.

"Oh, well," the young man's face cleared, "that would be different."

"What would you do?" demanded Mr. Smallwood.

"Well, I'd—I guess first I'd try to disarm him. If I couldn't—and if there weren't a policeman or somebody around—yes, I suppose I'd—well, put him out of action, at least."

"Kill?" insisted Mr. Smallwood.

"If I *had* to," agreed Arthur Jones, "but it's a pretty serious thing to kill a man, you know."

There was a bleak silence in the room; Mr. Smallwood was smiling cynically.

"Arthur," said the chairman gently, "what do you think is the best way to preserve world peace?"

"Preparedness," snapped Arthur Jones instantly. "Military strength second to none. A country ready for instant mobilization."

"What would you use to kill this drunk who assaults you and your mother with a deadly weapon?" snapped the chairman.

"Why I'd—I guess I'd hit him with something. A—a fence post or a stone—something like that, I guess."

"Don't you carry a gun with you all the time, Mr. Jones?"

"A gun?" The young man looked confused. "No. Of course not. Nobody carries a gun any more, except policemen. It's against the law."

"Then how," demanded Mr. Smallwood, "if you don't carry a gun, do you protect your mother from these assaults?"

"To tell you the truth," retorted Arthur Jones a little tartly, "nobody's ever threatened either of us in the way you've described." He looked around at the crestfallen members and added hastily, "But if someone did, and if I had a gun with me, I'd shoot him. Is that all right?"

"Suppose you had a machine-gun," piped Mr. Creech. "Would you be willing to kill his wife and little children, his mother and father, and in fact everyone who lives on the same street with him? Would you be willing to poison their drinking water, burn their houses, and spread disease germs among them? Would you?"

"Stop, stop!" cried Arthur, his face white to the roots of his hair. "That's horrible. Of course I wouldn't. Who'd murder a lot of innocent people like that? I'd die myself first!"

MAYBE," suggested the chairman after the silence had lasted a long while, "there's still a chance." But his voice was weary, and his fellow Board members could see he had been severely shaken by the outburst. "Young man, suppose you tell us why you think you deserve to be classified as a conscientious combatant."

"Well," said Arthur Jones, who also had been shaken by the turn the hearing had taken, "I'm in the ROTC at the university. I'm a sergeant. And I would have enlisted in it even if it hadn't been compulsory—I think. That ought to count for something."

"What do you do in ROTC?" asked Mr. Smallwood.

"We drill," said Arthur. "We learn the manual of arms, and how to take a rifle apart. We salute our officers. We have dances, and our band plays at the football games. I," said Arthur modestly, "am on the team."

"Do you sleep in the mud and the rain for weeks on end?" demanded Mr. Smallwood.

"No," said Arthur.

"Do you go without a shave or a bath for a month?"

"No," said Arthur.

"Do you steal from the neighboring farmers and villagers, and rape their daughters?"

"No," said Arthur.

"Do you kill people you never saw before and who never did you any harm?"

"Oh, no," said Arthur. "The college would never stand for that!"

"Let's forget about ROTC," said Mr. Smallwood.

Now," said Mr. Belknap, "let's get at the crux of this thing. Arthur, you are facing a draft of twenty-one months in the Army. The country might go to war during that time, and you know who the enemy would be. Why do you think you'd be conscientiously equipped to take part in combat in such a war?"

"That's easy," said Arthur Jones in relief. "They would be threatening our way of life, and we must protect it. The only language they understand is force, and we must fight fire with fire. We are the last bulwark of freedom in the world, and it is better to die a free man than live a slave."

"Very good," said the chairman.

"That would have got you through easily before this new Order. Now, however, I've got to ask you some questions to make sure you understand what you're talking about. What do you mean by Our Way of Life, Arthur?"

"Freedom," responded Arthur promptly. "Freedom to think what you like, speak what you believe, work at whatever job you please, and freedom to enterprise."

"What's that last?" asked Mr. Smallwood.

"Enterprise. You know," said Arthur, "free enterprise."

"Oh," said Mr. Smallwood.

"You realize," asked Mr. Belknap carefully, "that this would be total war? And that necessarily most of the freedoms you mention would disappear?"

"But only for the duration," said Arthur.

"I'm not so sure," mused the chairman. "But anyway—when you say they understand only the language of force, do you mean that there are other ways of resisting evil and tyranny?"

"Uh—not that I know of," said Arthur.

"Ever look into the power of good will?" asked the chairman.

"Ever read anything about the Quaker feeding missions in Europe and Asia?"

"Uh—no," said Arthur.

"Ever read anything about non-violent resistance?" asked Mr. Creech. "Hear of a fellow named Gandhi?"

"I heard of him," said Arthur vaguely.

"When you say 'fight fire with fire,'" said Mr. Creech, "you realize exactly what that means, I suppose? You're willing, for instance,

to drop fire bombs on congested cities, so that thousands upon thousands of children and their mothers are burned to death?"

"Well," said Arthur, "I guess so."

"And to help enforce a food blockade, so children would starve and babies be born dead?" persisted Mr. Creech.

"And to spread disease germs and poison, and atomic clouds, so that great sections of the earth become uninhabitable, and millions of men and women and children die in horrible agony, or live to suffer for the rest of their lives?" asked Mr. Smallwood.



"Why do you keep harping on women and children?" shouted Arthur Jones. "Don't soldiers fight soldiers any more?"

"Yes," said the chairman, "they do. Sometimes. Mostly, though, they fight civilians now—noncombatants. They destroy and ravage across the face of the earth with instruments of destruction capable of slaughtering half the human race—and designed perhaps, to do just that. Didn't you know?"

"Well," said Arthur Jones, "I guess I did, but I haven't been thinking about it exactly that way."

ARTHUR JONES," said the chairman kindly a week later, "the Board does not find that you possess the conscientious convictions you profess. You have shown that you possess impulses of kindness and good will of which you yourself are hardly conscious, but which would

seriously impair your abilities to participate in modern combat. The Board feels that you have not thought through the whole matter of total war, or investigated the possible alternatives. Consequently, while we do not feel that you are qualified to stand as a conscientious objector, neither do we find grounds for classifying you as a



conscientious combatant. We are, therefore, denying your application and assigning you to nonconscientious noncombatant service, with the suggestion that you'll feel happier when you take a definite stand somewhere.

"Of course," said the chairman kindly, peering at the young man over his spectacles, "you may appeal if you wish."

Jim Crow in Africa

By DARRELL and MILDRED RANDALL

MORE GOLD AND DIAMONDS have been discovered in South Africa, and more factories are springing up in Johannesburg. This "glittering prosperity," however, has been overshadowed by increasing concern about the flow of Africans to the cities, which has continued like a tidal wave. The housing situation for the non-white people has become worse and racial tensions continue to mount.

The defeat last May of the government of General Smuts, itself far from liberal, was a serious blow. The pro-Nazi Nationalist Party, which obtained control of Parliament, campaigned and won on a program promising more extreme measures of control and segregation of non-white peoples.

Apartheid (Afrikaans word meaning "set apart"): this is the slogan of the new government.

Quoting *Die Vaderland*, *Apartheid* means "to deny the Native all equality in a white state, but to give him the opportunity to develop, under absolute European guidance and protection, in his own state."

This is, of course, only another device to maintain control over the dark-skinned 80 percent of the population that, as in other parts of the world, is threatening to emerge from, backwardness and exploitation.

Apartheid is advocated by the most reactionary and conservative sections of the white population, and especially in the rural areas. At present only 10 percent of the arable land (13 percent of the total) is reserved for non-white people. Much of this land is very poor; all of it is overpopulated and cannot provide a basis for even

subsistence living for its inhabitants. This suits the bulk of the white population because it assures them a supply of cheap labor to work on their farms, in the mines, in factories, and in homes as domestic servants.

Under the present economic pressures of industrialization, the farmers are having the most difficult time keeping African and other non-white workers because better wages are offered in the cities. So when the government advocates *Apartheid*, and at the same time announces that it will not acquire further land outside reserved areas unless it first obtains the consent of farmers and farmers' associations, it is practically guaranteeing that no more land will be made available for the non-white peoples.

Further official statements have announced that "the number of detribalized Natives must be frozen. Tribal Natives (who work in the white areas) must be periodically returned to their homes to renew their tribal connections. Detribalized Natives must be encouraged to return to their tribal affiliations. Conditions must be such that eventually they will prefer to return to the tribe." This is trying to hold Africans in feudalism while an industrial revolution is taking place.

Almost immediately after taking office, the new government introduced measures or declared its intention to abolish Native representation in the House of Assembly; to abolish the Natives' Representative Council; to discontinue the policy of building sub-economic houses for African workers at the expense of the State; to exclude Africans from benefiting

from increased pension rates granted to Europeans; to prohibit the entry of non-white students to certain white universities that they are at present attending in small numbers; and to expand migratory labor for secondary industry (which means compelling more Africans to leave their families in the reserves hundreds of miles away).

As the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, here in Johannesburg, reported, "The actions taken by the Government and the intentions it has expressed regarding future policy are a clear manifestation of increasing oppression of non-Europeans. Racial tensions already have been seriously aggravated." Then it warned that this was adding "a mounting peril of racial hostility."

In the Name of Christianity

A tragic factor in these developments is that they are done in the name of "Christianity." The government includes more people who call themselves "Christian" than probably any other government in the world. Not only is the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, a former church minister, but many other responsible positions are held by church leaders. Dr. Nicol, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church and a former Chairman of the South African Christian Council, has been appointed the Administrator of the Transvaal, the most important province in the country. All of this is having an important effect on the work of Christian missions among the African people. Its repercussions are bound to be felt in other parts of the continent. If the present situation continues, it is likely to lead to the rejection of the

Christian church by masses of the non-white people.

While tension mounts here in South Africa, there have been large-scale African strikes in Rhodesia, serious riots in the Gold Coast, and the tragedy of the rebellion in Madagascar, in which sixty to a hundred thousand people were said to be killed. (One Mission alone in that small area had 300 of its churches and schools burned.) When relating this to what is happening in other areas of the world where backward people are struggling against white domination, competent observers here ominously conclude that Africa is a tinder box!

International Club

There is not a place in Johannesburg where representatives of different races can meet together for social and cultural contacts. This is especially serious at a time when confidence and understanding between the races is deteriorating rapidly. Darrell has been given a very difficult assignment as organizing secretary for such a center here in this racial tension area. People—black, brown, yellow and white, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Hindus and Moslems—can then have some place in which to meet to understand each other. The success of our interracial discussion groups this past year, representing the cross-section mentioned above, has given us confidence in the possibility of such a club. The Institute of Race Relations has been able to find premises for it, but it is going to take about ten thousand dollars for the first year for equipment, rent and running expenses. We have already obtained some financial support toward this, and events in the near future will determine

whether or not the rest of the funds can be found.

What does this have to do with Christianity? In this country, under the control of people who call themselves Christian, citizens have no opportunity to know the non-white man as anything but a servant. That is a serious indictment of the influence of the Church.

Christian Fellowship Center

Another place is needed where there can be a demonstration of real Christian fellowship; a place where representatives of different races can come for Christian conferences, retreats, recreation and worship together; a place where suitable sleeping and eating accommodations are available—where people can really get to know each other. Most existing Christian institutions find it "necessary" to compromise on principles by falling in line with public custom for fear of alienating government good will or offending financial supporters of their church. This weakness on the part of the established churches is one of the chief barriers to building confidence in Christianity among educated non-white peoples in this part of Africa. It was here in South Africa that Gandhi decided to remain a Hindu because the white Christian churches here would not accept him in their fellowship. The situation is more desperate today. Many of the younger generation are turning to another ideology which is determined to build a society in which men are said to live and work together as brothers, an idea which the government says is a threat to white civilization.

A small group of us, including the Secretary of the South African

Christian Council, feel that a Christian Fellowship Center in this area is the most desperate need in the African mission field. We have the possibility of getting a farm, near Johannesburg, which can be built up as a Christian Conference ground and Fellowship Center. We want to encourage interested individuals and Christian groups to support the building of cottages, assembly halls, and other facilities needed there. It will be an ideal place for interracial work-camp projects and educational programs for cultivating understanding and good will. It can be a symbol, in the darkness of this land, to show what Christian fellowship can and should be.

Another great beam of light and encouragement came when Dr. Frank Laubach brought to South Africa his program of literacy. In the few weeks he was here he worked out lessons in several

African languages and already much has been done to adapt them to the needs here, where over 75 percent of the people are still illiterate. With this literacy program can go a great opportunity for teaching people Christianity. Those of us who met and talked with Frank Laubach, found he not only showed us new techniques, but in his simplicity and great Christian faith, he was a rare inspiration. Our work with the Institute of Race Relations will include helping to promote this literacy program.

Do not make the mistake of thinking that the task is done when we can teach people how to read the Bible. It is relatively easy to convert one generation to Christianity, but it is not so easy to help the next generation to build a Christlike society in which all mankind live and share together the abundance of God's resources. This is the task of Missions today!

Challenge Racial Laws

In June of 1946 South African Indians began nonviolently to resist the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Acts by camping on an empty lot in a section of Durban where Asiatics are forbidden to purchase or use property.

Within the year following, over 1,300 Indian men and women, along with a few sympathetic Europeans, Africans and mulattoes, were sent to prison for "trespassing" on this plot of land. Persons of all colors cross it freely most of the time; but whenever a protest group takes its stand there it is promptly arrested and sent to prison.

Outstanding leader of this campaign is the Rev. Michael Scott, who helped to start the movement and served a three months' sentence in its early days. Since then he has been brought into court in Johannesburg for the "crime" of living in the miserable shantytown of his African parishioners.

E. M. BARD
Peace News

The tiny lake country presents a determinedly friendly face to Russia as—

Finland Tries a New Way

By ANDRÉ TROCMÉ

THE TRAVELER WHO GOES from his cabin to the deck at dawn, after leaving behind him the luxurious comfort of Stockholm, discovers that he has penetrated during the night into a totally different world. The sea is frozen solid, though it is the beginning of April. Pale gold sunshine gleams on the smooth surface. The ship moves forward through a narrow channel between two "lips" of ice. Heavy blocks of ice, half submerged, which have broken off from these "lips," clatter against the stern.

In the distance three horse-drawn sleighs proceed in single file over the ice between two islands. Closer by, a pedestrian pushes himself along rapidly with the help of a sort of scooter on skates, on which his left foot rests, while the right, equipped with spikes, propels the contraption. Here and there the channel becomes even narrower, to enable pedestrians to cross it on a long ladder laid across it.

For hours we move forward between islands, ranging in size from those just big enough to bear a few scraggly trees, to others resembling miniature continents, with lighthouse-crowned cliffs, small peninsulas, bays, beaches, a capital consisting of a few wooden houses, and a tiny port. Sometimes the sea narrows to the breadth of a river.

When the ship finally arrives at a point where it can no longer go

forward, it discharges its passengers. We are on land. It is Finland. The 65,000 islands dotting the sea are replaced by 65,000 lakes dotting the land. In an automobile one can jump from island to island until far out into the sea, until the point where the next island is too far away. Then one takes a boat.

To the interlacing of lakes and islands must be added the interlacing of forests and clearings. There are few towns and villages in Finland, whose population, consisting mainly of peasants and woodcutters, is dispersed and hidden in a maze of granite-like hills and of small bodies of water. The extraordinary resistance of this little country is largely due to this special geographical configuration.

After disembarking at Turku (Åbo), whose irregular streets, lined with single-story wooden houses, already evoke something of Russia, I take the train for Helsinki, where I arrive five hours later. The countryside is picturesque, and limited. One soon falls into a doze before the endless repetition of the same theme: forest, clearing with lake, then forest again.

Two hours before the capital the train stops. It is the entrance to the "tunnel." Finnish policemen, under the direction of a single Russian soldier, cover the coach windows with shutters and lock

the doors. A Russian locomotive, adorned with the Soviet star, replaces the Finnish engine. For an hour we are to roll through the night. No one in Finland knows what goes on in the Russian enclave, the population of which has been totally evacuated. About thirty kilometers from Helsinki the Finns take over again. Thus four million Finns sense what they cannot see—the enormous and oppressive weight of 180 millions of Russians.

Minister of Defense

The day after my arrival Mr. Kallinen, the Finnish Minister of National Defense, sent his car to pick me up at the Quaker Center where I was living. The country is small, foreign visitors are relatively rare, the letter of introduction which I carried was good: Mr. Kallinen very kindly granted me an interview that lasted almost an hour.

A moment after I entered his office, the Minister left his desk and informally took a place at a large table around which I and the friends who were with me already had taken chairs. He answered the questions I asked him clearly and without hesitation. He traced for us an outline of his life: his humble origins and his rise, almost in spite of himself, to the post of Minister. The following day I was to learn that this son of a peasant family is the great orator of Finland, and that his words, straightforward and enthusiastic, have the power of heightening the emotions of the masses of peasants and workers.

When we touched on the question of the military pact with Russia, Mr. Kallinen became extremely animated. He rose from his

chair, his white hair seemed to stand on end as if in protestation.

"I accepted," he said, "the post of Minister of National Defense because I am an antimilitarist of long standing, and because my presence at this post is proof of my country's will to peace. My country has suffered too much from war; she never wants to wage war again. Moreover, she is no longer capable of waging war. And besides this, my own will to peace is such that I will never sign—do you hear me? Never!—a pact that could be an instrument of war against another nation, whatever nation it might be. Eighty percent of the deputies in Parliament think as I do. We are solidly united, and the Russians know it. We should refuse our signature and accept the terrible consequences of a Russian occupation, rather than contribute, by a military alliance, to increasing the danger of a conflict between East and West."

It is not within the scope of this article to report in detail our entire conversation. My emotion grew as it gradually became evident to me that this man was a great man, a very great man. I do not know what influence his opinions may have had on the decisions taken by ex-Minister Pekkala, but I know that I have talked with a politician of profound democratic convictions, the prime mover of the Finnish cooperative movement, and, moreover, a man free from all compromise. "An old fool," as Mr. Kallinen describes himself, "who has been singled out, no one knows why, to occupy this post," he is a man of principle, about whom one shrugs one's shoulders, but whom one listens to in spite of everything, a conscientious objector.

charged to defend his country by means other than those of violence. At the moment of parting, Mr. Kalinen took my hand in his own and gave me a long, penetrating look. "Explain to your friends in France that my being here and trying to accomplish my duty in a paradoxical situation does not mean that I am in any way a remarkable man, but simply that I do my best to be a humble disciple of Jesus Christ."

Out in the sunlit street once more, a little dazed, I began to understand the special character of the Finnish resistance.

"Days of Christian Culture"

Several days later, I witnessed an impressive manifestation, the opening, in the presence of President Paasikivi, of the "Days of Christian Culture" in the large auditorium of the University of Helsinki, recently restored after damage by bombardments. There were two speakers, a professor of astronomy and the Lutheran bishop, Sormunen. Their speeches, which were translated for me as they spoke, were of deep religious and political significance. The astronomer declared: "Our Savior alone can help us in our great suffering and tribulation." The bishop evoked the example of Gandhi.

Present in the auditorium were the intellectual and religious elite of the country. At the end of the meeting I was presented to the Lutheran bishop. I asked him if he was in favor of the return to Finland of the lost provinces, and whether he believed that a war between Russia and the West, if not desirable, was not at least inevitable. The bishop replied immediately: "No!

A war, even a victorious war, would establish neither justice nor peace. Finland must place herself at the feet of Gandhi and rediscover from the East the Christian values the Western Church has disdained. It is God who must designate the role of Finland, and that of my own province, Karelia, annexed by the Russians, in His own time and His own way."

People Deeply Religious

Until then I had had occasion to make contacts only in the higher political and religious circles. I therefore decided that to round out my short experience of life in Finland I should attempt to become acquainted with the people: first of all, the Lutherans, in town and country, and secondly, the Communists, for Finland has, in spite of everything, a number of workers more or less outside the Church, whose sympathies lean toward Moscow.

Pastors Helle, Virkkunen, Siirala, and Evalds served as interpreters for me and arranged for me to speak to the members of their parishes on several occasions. These Finnish parishes made an unforgettable impression on me.

The wooden churches usually stand gleaming white between the silvered trunks of the birch trees in the cemeteries, while close by, between the black branches of the pines, the lake or gulf, still frozen, glistens under the warm sun. Inside, the congregation, grave-faced and somberly dressed, seats itself with quiet dignity on the benches, between the tin pipes of the organ and the copper crucifix on the altar.

The service lasts for several

hours. The singing of hymns, in a minor key, alternates with the intoning of the liturgy by the pastor, and the delivery of stirring sermons, vibrating with passionate conviction. As in the great auditorium of the University, the crowd is astonishingly immobile.

Religious fervor is the enduring characteristic of Finnish Lutheranism, which claims nominally 97 percent of the people. Since the Eighteenth Century there have been a series of revivalist movements—"Pietist," "Evangelist," "Laestadian" and "Praying." These movements generally have taken their initiative from laymen rather than from pastors. All insist on the sovereign grace of God; some encourage the practice of public confession of sins or ecstatic prayer. The Lutheran Church has had the wisdom not to break with these movements. They are organized within the bosom of the Church, and maintain good relations among themselves. Having remained popular, they have kept alive the religious flame which in Sweden has been allowed to die.

With Pastor Helle I made several visits to the Karelian refugees quartered in military barracks abandoned by the Germans who were in Finland during the war. I saw women spinning linen thread on a spinning wheel, and young girls weaving this thread by hand. The men were heavy and strongly built; their features were smooth and harmonious, even those of the old men. They wore black frock coats, buttoned up to the neck. They showed me photographs of the prosperous farms they formerly possessed, and which the Russians on the other side of the

new frontier now allow to fall into neglect. But I heard no word of hatred. These were families of Pietists, well-versed in the teachings of the Bible. Their acceptance of the will of God in their hour of trial is for them a perfectly natural thing. The barracks looked like prosperous chalets; their clothes were folded in their trunks; their Bibles and books occupied the place of honor.

And the Communists

My quest for information ended with the Communists. I had scarcely any trouble in obtaining two appointments, one with their youth leader, in a restaurant, and the other with the vice-president in charge of propaganda, Mr. Kivikoski.

The Finnish Communist Party is the core of a fairly loose political grouping, "The Democratic Union of the Finnish People," Communist in sympathy, which occupies a quarter of the seats in the Parliament. Mr. Pekkala, Prime Minister at the time of my visit, with five other Ministers of his Cabinet, that is to say, a third of the Finnish Cabinet, was a member of this union. In spite of this sizable minority, it does not seem as though the political fate of the country were seriously influenced by it. I suspect that the majority of the members of the Democratic Union of the Finnish People are Finns; first and Communists second.

But Mr. Kivikoski is a true Communist, responsible for the party propaganda, and in spite of my efforts to obtain from him the expression of a personal opinion, all I could get was the official "party

line," obviously dictated by Moscow. Moreover, the interview was scarcely private. It was held in the party offices, with secretaries going noisily in and out of the room. A secretary carefully wrote down my questions, as well as Mr. Kivikoski's replies. He spoke with his eyes lowered, and chose his words carefully.

The faultless logic of the "line" presented made clear to me that I had, intellectually, already stepped the other side of the iron curtain. Mr. Kivikoski reminded me that Finland had twice served—in 1918 and 1941—as a springboard for the Germans in their attacks against Russia. (He forgot to speak of 1939.) He demonstrated to me the profound difference between the situation in Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, and that of Finland. "Russia does not dream," he said, "of restraining parliamentary freedom in this country. However, Finland would do well to remember that the peace treaty requires of her a friendly attitude toward her great neighbor."

Logic of Totalitarianism

The contacts one succeeds in making with the political mechanism of totalitarianism are always impressive. One cannot avoid being struck by its faultless logic and by the practical significance of the simplified interpretation it gives to the fundamental truths of this world. When I think of the complexity of psychological and political phenomena manifest in a democratic society of the western type, I begin to doubt our capacity for resisting the shock of primitive organisms, such as those inspired by the genius of Lenin and Stalin.

Only by great simplification of the thought of our western world can we ever hope to counteract the force of the Communist philosophy. This simplification will come either through a dictatorship, or from within. The simple faith of the children of the Kingdom of God, their determination to reply with gentleness, disinterestedness and naïve truth to the implacable arguments of totalitarianism, seem to me to be the only refuge within which we might entrench ourselves.

Parliamentary democracy will be destroyed by its complexity, as well as by its impotence and self-contradictions, even *without* the impact of communism, unless it undergoes this simplification from within. The mission of evangelization which the Church must pursue seems to me to be more important and more urgent than ever before. The Church concentrates on the conversion of individuals, and this is the fundamental task, but the individuals, once converted, must endeavor to think and act with simplicity, as disciples of Christ, otherwise their influence in the world is negligible, and society continues to disintegrate all about them. I found something of this simple Christian faith in Finland, among the peasants, and in the governing class which, in its piety and its way of thought, has remained close to its peasant origins. The obscurely phrased expressions of thought with which the western Christian world is filled are, in my opinion, a sign of decadence. The Bible is so much more elementary. The Lutheran peasants of Finland have preserved the freshness of the revivals of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries.

My friend, Heikki Waris, professor of social sciences at the University of Helsinki, summed up for me in three sentences the secret of his country's strength: "The Finn says to himself, 'I am a poor sinner. I know the grace of the Master and I await his second coming.' And he adds, 'That is why I have nothing to fear.'"

A pessimism so convinced that it frees them from all fear, a profound belief in the relativity of all things earthly and human, a scorn for material wealth, give these people an almost unlimited capacity for facing suffering and for acting, not according to their material interests, but according to eternal principles.

Toward the end of the Czarist regime, and for a period of about twenty years, Finland had the experience of a passive resistance crowned with success. The Russian rulers of Nicholas II wished to force the young Finns into compulsory military service. Some garrisons in the interior of Russia were assigned to them, with the aim of bringing them in contact with the Russians. But, on the day of their convocation, no conscripts appeared. As a punishment, Russia dissolved the small Finnish army. From 1914 to 1917, alone among the subjects of the Czar, the Finns did not fight.

Is it a precedent of this kind that makes the Soviets cautious? I am inclined to believe it. Military occupation resolves nothing, when it is opposed by the spiritual resistance of a whole people. The farther the USSR extends its boundaries, the more it must become conscious of the problems that conquests pose to the conquerors. Wherever he finds divisions within the in-

ternal governments of neighboring countries, Stalin will set up dictatorships. But before a majority incapable of becoming assimilated, it seems he must hesitate. Wise tactics on his part, which presages more happy days of freedom, each time that this freedom is inspired from within.

One should not conclude that I returned from Finland a convinced anti-Communist. The problem facing the Church of today is to know whether it is better to prop up, in the midst of its imminent ruin, a parliamentary liberalism, deteriorating because it refuses to return to its religious origin and vacillates between Byzantine quarrels of doctrine and a cold economic realism, or whether it is better for the Church to prepare itself as the Finns have done, and work against totalitarianism from within, as I believe. Totalitarian communism is absolute, certainly, but it is obliged by its very expansion to recognize the presence of religious forces within itself, which work, not against it, in the manner of a hostile fascism, but within it, as the soul within the body.

I am persuaded that a military victory over Russia, which so many Christians have tended to confuse with the salvation of Christianity, would only precipitate the collapse of the western world, even though American forces were to occupy Moscow.

There is no miracle in Finland but there are the miracles of God and of the power of those who believe in Him. The testimony of a people like the Finns opens up for the future more encouraging possibilities than those that military victory could secure.

News from the Peace Front

Draft Suspended, but Absolutist Prosecutions Continue

Although the Selective Service Act of 1948 is dead so far as inductions into the armed forces are concerned, nonregistrants continue to stream through the portals of this nation's prisons, as prosecutions are carried on by the government. By the end of February about forty had been brought to trial, and all but a few received prison sentences.

Robert E. Reuman, 25, instructor in philosophy at Temple University in Philadelphia, was sentenced on February 16 to a year and a day in prison. Reuman, an ex-CPS man, comes from Ravenna, Ohio, and is studying for a master's degree at the University of Pennsylvania. He and William Young, who was sentenced with him, asked to be released on probation so that they could go to China for the Friends, but Federal Judge Guy K. Bard refused. He said that if they would register within sixty days he would release them for that, but so long as they persisted in breaking the law he would "treat them as I would treat anyone else who violates the draft law."

William Young, 23, a sophomore at Swarthmore College, received a sentence of a year and a day with Reuman. He had registered for the draft during the war, but refused to register for peacetime conscription, which would "only lead to another and greater war." Young is a Quaker, comes from Abbeville, S. C., and is the son of Mildred Binns Young.

Herbert Hoover of Oskaloosa, Iowa, who rents the William Penn College farm, is married, and has two children, was sentenced to 18 months in prison and \$500 fine on January 19. Hoover was arrested with six other William Penn men, but they pleaded guilty and he pleaded not guilty. On that account, the judge said, he added the \$500 fine to the 18-months sentence which the others had received.

Arlo Tatum of Oskaloosa, who got a three-and-a-half year sentence for nonregistration during the war, was sentenced on January 22 to 18 months in prison.

Henry Standing, a cousin of Herbert and Leland Standing and a former William Penn student, was sentenced on January 22 to 18 months in prison.

David S. Coffman, 24, an orderly at Elgin State Hospital and a medical student, on January 21 was sentenced by U. S. Judge Walter J. LaBuy to a year and a day in prison. Coffman, who comes from McFarland, California, is a member of the Church of the Brethren.

Phillip Howard, student at Pacific Oaks Friends School, was sentenced to three years in prison by Federal Judge Mathes in Los Angeles court on January 17.

T. Gilbert Butler, 26, a Navy veteran of Woodville, Alabama, who recently joined the FOR, received a 60-day sentence in Birmingham on February 11. Butler told the court that he does not

place himself above the law of man, but that he does recognize a law above man, made by God. Federal District Judge Clarence Mullins, who heard the case, said "This is a very unpleasant duty, but it is not a matter that I can entirely overlook. . . . I am not interested in punishing you personally," but he said he felt he had to give a sentence to deter others from refusing to register.

In the Toils

William Bisso, 22, of Sonoma County, California, refused to take the induction oath on January 8. Afterwards, while in the custody of the federal marshal's office, he was handcuffed for a time to Robert Meyners, nonregistrant CO, who talked to him about his position. Bisso had been reported as refusing induction because his girl friend didn't want him in the Army. In reality, however, he had for a long time been convinced that he could not go into the Army, but had never heard of other people or organizations which took this position. He has joined the FOR and filed a CO claim with his draft board asking for reclassification.

Wilbur Rippey was arrested on January 18 in New York in the Peacemakers' picket line, and released on \$500 bail.

Charles Bell of Minneapolis was picked up on January 31.

James Neuhauser of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was picked up on February 1 in New York City while participating in a Peacemakers' picketing project before the federal court house, and was released in \$1500 bail. He has been working for Peacemakers for several months.

Larry Tjossem, nonregistrant and a student at William Penn College, received a letter giving him a choice of time and place for his trial, and was free without bond until time for the trial.

Craig Wilder, 24, disabled veteran in his second year as a theological student at Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, and assistant minister of the Union Avenue Methodist Church of Chicago, was arrested on February 1 and released in \$500 bond.

Burt Schultz was arrested on February 15 in New York in the Peacemakers' picket line before the federal court house and released in \$1,000 bail.

William Wildman, 25, was arrested and released on \$1,000 bail on February 8 in Cincinnati. He is a Quaker, the son of Dr. Ernest A. Wildman, professor of chemistry at Earlham College, and spent three years in CPS.

Armin L. Seager, Jr., 23, of Philadelphia, and *Rollin Peppery*, 24, of Glens Falls, New York, were arrested in Richmond, Indiana, on January 31 and released in \$2,000 bail each. Both are students at Earlham College.

Gerald D. Haynes, 26, of Ontario, California, who is enrolled in the Quaker Hill resident study program at Richmond, was arrested with them. Haynes, who is a veteran of World War II, was also released in \$2,000 bail.

Dan and Vincent Smith of Melvern, Kansas, have been indicted and will be tried in the May term of the U. S. Federal Court at Fort Scott, Kansas.

Richard Shufflebarger of Martinsville, Indiana, was arrested on January 13 and released in \$2,000 bail.

Stephen Simon, 19, Charles Frantz, 24, and Francis Henderson, 20, all Quakers and Earlham College students, were arrested on February 7 for refusal to register and later released on bail.

Raymond Olds, of Storrs, Connecticut, received a I-A classification, although he did not register and had no contact with his draft board except to send them a copy of a letter he wrote to the local paper.

Draft Cards Returned

Bob McAllester of Ithaca, New York, and Jack Morelock of Oska-loosa, Iowa, both classified 4-E by their draft boards, returned their cards to the boards. They were thereupon classified I-A and called for induction on January 18. They refused to report, and are now awaiting arrest. Both are William Penn College students.

Wes Frost, also of William Penn, returned his registration card to his Connecticut draft board and received it back with a 4-E classification. He returned both cards to the draft board, which sent them both back to him again, and he has finally returned them with a statement that he will accept no more mail from the board.

Appeal, Reclassification Procedure Clarified

The report in January FELLOWSHIP that draft boards were under no obligation to consider putting a CO in IV-E if he had once been put into some higher classification, taken from *The Reporter* of the NSBRO, appears to have been somewhat exaggerated. According

to the regulations, "When the local board reopens the registrant's classification, it shall consider the new information which it has received and shall again classify the registrant in the same manner as if he had never before been classified." This means that if the case is reopened the board should consider every classification from V-A down to I-A, in that order.

The regulations about appealing from a wrong classification are also more lenient than was indicated in FELLOWSHIP's story. When notice of classification is received the CO may first ask his local board for a hearing, at which he can present his case in person and ask that his classification be changed to IV-E, or whatever he believes it ought to be. The board will then again send notice of classification to the registrant, whether or not it has been changed. If the classification is still unsatisfactory to the CO he may then appeal to the Appeal Board.

The administration of these regulations will vary from board to board, no doubt, and even though acceptance of a higher classification than IV-E does not mean that there is absolutely no chance of later receiving IV-E, it is possible that the draft board might think he was not an assiduous or a genuine CO if he had not asserted his CO claim at the time of classification.

Great Britain has joined eight other European nations in abolishing the visa for Americans wishing to travel there. The other nations are Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. This country retains the visa, however.

Walker New Middle Atlantic Secretary

Charles Walker, ex-CPS man and former College Secretary for Ohio, Indiana and Michigan for the AFSC, joined the FOR staff in January as Middle Atlantic College secretary and Philadelphia City secretary. He will spend approximately one-third of his time in Philadelphia proper, and the other two-thirds traveling in the Middle Atlantic area.

Charlie Walker graduated from Elizabethtown College, where he became a pacifist, then spent a year as teacher and athletic coach in a Junior High School, playing semi-pro baseball on the side. He was drafted into CPS, from which he later walked out, then served a term in Petersburg Reformatory. After that he went to the AFSC for two years before coming to the FOR. He is married and has three charming young children.

Lowell Cantrell Resigns in Boston

The Rev. Lowell Cantrell, young minister who had served as Boston FOR secretary since November 1947, resigned as of February 1. Cantrell succeeded George Paine in that position.

During his term as Boston secretary Cantrell led picketing of registration places at the time of registration last fall for the peacetime draft. He was arrested twice when crowds formed and attempted to intimidate him and other picketers, on a charge of "loitering." Despite the threat of violence he returned to the picketing several times after that.

FOR in Church's Benevolence Budget

The Central Community Church of Columbus, Ohio, of which the Reverend Rudy H. Thomas has been minister for a year and a half, has put the FOR in its budget and sent a contribution to the organization. Although the church has not supported the FOR, its Board decided, on Mr. Thomas' recommendation, to put the FOR in its regular budget, and may increase its contribution next year. A. J. Muste suggests that this is an example worthy to be followed.

Loyalty Test Would Bar COs

In January more rigid loyalty tests for workers in atomic projects were announced by the Atomic Energy Commission, with two categories for people who are "bare security risks." The first category, of course, includes especially people who are members of "subversive" organizations.

The second category includes people with possible sympathy, identification or association with "subversive" organizations, those with a near relative "in a nation whose interests may be inimical to the interests of the United States," and conscientious objectors to military service "except for religious reasons."

A report of the Atomic Energy Commission issued shortly after this declared that our lead in the atomic energy field was growing and our production of "the most destructive types of atomic bombs" was at its peak.

Peace Collection Receives Grant

The Swarthmore College Peace Collection, dedicated to Jane Addams, received in January a grant of \$10,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, to be used in the course of two years for the special purpose of cataloguing its non-archival materials. The material to be catalogued includes books, pamphlets, etc., dating back as far as 1642.

The Peace Collection has provided and is providing research material for doctoral dissertations and numerous books on various aspects of the peace movement. On one occasion documents in the Collection, the only ones in existence, were used to prove the existence and status of an anti-war committee, so that it could receive a bequest which had been made for its work.

Workshop to Be Held July in Washington

Following up on highly successful workshops held there in the past few years, the Racial-Industrial Department of the FOR will sponsor an Interracial Workshop in Washington, D. C., from July 1 to July 31. The Workshop will be headed by George Houser, FOR Racial-Industrial Secretary who led the Los Angeles workshop last year and the one in Washington the year before. The Workshop will also have the cooperation of the permanent Interracial Workshop which was formed in Washington after the successful summer workshop of 1947.

The Workshop will follow up on

some of the aspects of the excellent report of the Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Nation's Capital, which made a stir throughout the country when it was published in January, and which pointed to many abuses. The Workshop will work on such projects as the abolition of discrimination and segregation in the restaurant facilities of the YMCA, the Greyhound bus depot, and other public places.

The Workshop will be made up of twenty or twenty-five men and women, and will hold discussion and study sessions in connection with its nonviolent direct action work.

Draft Violators Should Be IV-F

According to the Selective Service law, persons convicted of a felony are for that reason ineligible to serve in the armed forces. "No person shall be relieved from training and service under this title by reason of conviction of a criminal offense, except where the offense of which he has been convicted may be punished by death, or by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year," the law further states. All COs convicted of violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940 are felons, whether they actually received a sentence over one year or not. Except in "special meritorious cases" such people are to be classified IV-F, according to the regulations, and COs are probably not considered as meritorious exceptions. In order to be made an exception, moreover, one must apply to the recruiting office, from which the case is taken up by the Secretary of the Army.

Alternative Service Paroles Suggested

The Central Committee for COs reports that Walter Urich, Parole Executive in Washington, had suggested that COs be paroled to some sort of alternative service program. Parole has been denied to J. Newton Garver of Swarthmore, who is now in Danbury, the first nonregistrant to be eligible for it.

The CCCO discussed the question of such a program and the possibility of the pacifist agencies becoming involved in the punishment of COs as an arm of the government. It decided that its policy was to demand unconditional release for COs, which the Parole Board has the authority to grant after one-third of the sentence has been served. It did not intend to discourage men who wished to take conditional parole, but would not try to establish alternative service projects to which COs could be paroled.

Tax-Refusers Announce Position

On March 14, just before the deadline for the payment of Federal income taxes, the growing number of tax refusers sent releases to the newspapers, particularly those in communities where tax-refusers live, announcing their intention and their reasons for their action.

The statement signed by the tax-refusers reads in part: "Believing that men are accountable for their actions . . . we have after serious consideration determined upon a course of civil disobedience. . . . We

are united in affirming the brotherhood of all men, and we are therefore unwilling to contribute to preparations for war. We renounce the ways of war and violence, and call upon our fellowmen in all countries to lay down their arms, to renounce forever dependence upon violence and murder to protect their property, their lives, and their ideals. . . ."

There were about fifty signers by March 15, including Marion and Ernest Bromley, Caleb and Hope Foote, George Houser, Milton Mayer, A. J. Muste, Laurence Scott, Ralph Templin and Caroline Urie.

Regulations Affecting British COs

According to regulations which went into effect on January 1, 1949, British COs will be registered for a period of 18 months and 60 days, the period for which men are drafted into the armed forces. COs are assigned by the Tribunals to various types of work, for which they may be required to undergo training. They are given a month in which to find a job in the type of work to which they are assigned, and if they have not done so by then may be assigned to a specific job by the Ministry of Labor.

The United States Army has quietly made a gift to the school children of Western Germany of about \$44,000,000 to pay for daily noon meals. The only cost to Germany is the expense of distribution, and it is specified that the children must not pay for their meals.

Jottings

The January meeting of the Honolulu FOR, held in the New Era Community Church, whose congregation is largely Negro, elected the following officers: The Rev. Philip A. Solbjor, Chairman; Gilbert Bowles, Vice-Chairman; Miss Tai Shigaki, Secretary; and Lloyd R. Killam, Treasurer.

* * *

The Army in January cut its draft call in half, and declared there would be no more inductions for several months beyond March, at least. It also ended two-year enlistments, allowing only those for three years, and raised its intelligence and other requirements for new recruits. In spite of these efforts it was announced on February 16 that the total number of men in the armed forces was 1,665,000, already above the 1,616,000 provided for in the budget for 1950.

* * *

Nevin Sayre, who does not take the nonregistrant position himself, was denied the opportunity to speak at Sacramento College in California when the Dean of Students found he belonged to the same organization as Robert Meyners, nonregistrant CO who recently went to jail in Los Angeles.

* * *

Major Thomas Nial, who writes a syndicated column for the Oakland (Cal.) *Tribune* wrote on January 20 that "the Army is hungry for second lieutenants," but that it "makes a big point" that "they won't take you if you are a conscientious objector."

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, FOR member and for 42 years minister of Community Church in New York, on March 1 announced his resignation as of November 29. On that date he will be 70 years old.

* * *

Buell Gallagher, FOR member of Berkeley, California, failed by only about 4,000 votes to be elected to the House of Representatives last fall.

* * *

On February 2 it was announced that Britain is ready to resume normal diplomatic relations with Spain, and the next day our State Department indicated that it would support a move in that direction in the United Nations, which was responsible for the withdrawal, in 1946, of ambassadorial representation by the UN countries in Spain. On February 8 the Chase National Bank, second largest in this country, announced that it had made a short-term loan of \$25,000,000 to Spain.

ADVERTISEMENTS

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Would those interested in attending a Seminary for the Study of the Records of the Life and Teaching of Jesus communicate with Juliet Roby, 2017 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 3. Late June, Maine Coast. Late August, Eastern Pennsylvania.



Books

The Possible Future

The Price of Power, by Hanson W. Baldwin. Harper and Brothers, 1948. 361 pp., \$3.75.

The nation's leading military analyst has in this book sketched for us the shape of the future if the United States continues to accept "the responsibility" of power. It is a horrible future, not only in terms of atomic and bacterial war but in terms of the "peacetime" years of orientation in the direction of war. This orientation involves drastic economic and political changes such as the dispersion of cities, and the subordination of science, education, the press, and other civilian institutions to the military terms of the "peacetime" years of orientation in the direction of war. This orientation involves drastic economic and political changes such as the dispersion of cities, and the subordination of science, education, the press, and other civilian institutions to the military purpose of nationalist power. Mr. Baldwin pleads throughout the book for civilian control, but it is all in the interest of military power as the way to preserve a precarious peace with Russia.

He tells us occupation troops should not be withdrawn from Germany and Japan because Communists might seize power. He points out that "it is high time we stopped boggling at the 'specter' of alliances," and we must be pre-

pared for "U. S. investments abroad . . . (to) be supported and encouraged by our government." Like official Army spokesmen, he believes that "all the resources of national power must be tapped in any future war." This means a military draft, a labor draft, and all of life subordinated to war.

On the positive side, he argues against UMT, and speaks for a limitation on armaments by international agreement, though he thinks complete universal disarmament is impossible. He condemns the "surge of nationalism" and the "new respect for our top military leaders" expressed in the "Eisenhower for President" boom, in contrast to our failure to show "corresponding gain in respect for representative government."

Although the book states that "Defense as a major policy, either military or political, must be discarded" and an offense policy put in its place, it is apparent that Mr. Baldwin is unhappy about the present trend toward militarism and potential aggression.

The book is valuable for a number of reasons: (1) it literally describes the price in terms of democracy, money, natural resources, persons, etc., that we must pay for military power; (2) it is convincing evidence that in a future war "victory, even if achieved, would also spell defeat"; (3) it demonstrates to those who read between the lines the dilemma of the non-

pacifist who wants both military power and peace, militarism and civilian control, "the stomach for fighting" (including dropping atom bombs) and the supremacy of the spirit.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

Techniques Against Tension

The More Perfect Union, by Robert M. MacIver. Macmillan Company, 1948. 311 pp. \$4.00.

In *The More Perfect Union*, Professor MacIver is primarily interested in charting a broad course of strategy for organizations and individuals interested in resolving the "tensions, rifts, and cleavages between groups of different origin, stemming from different peoples or races." In preparation for the present work, the author reviewed most of the sociological and psychological research that has been done in this field during the past few years. On the basis of these and of his own thoughtful observations, he has presented some conclusions that are worthy of serious consideration.

Beginning with a statement of the "challenge" of the problem at hand, the author gives a brief assessment of the present situation, a chapter each to the dynamics of discrimination, the nature of prejudice, and a discussion of strategy in general. Special attention is given to economic, political, and educational strategy. A concluding section is followed by appendices which will be of special interest to those interested in the theoretical assumptions underlying the work.

Among the most important conclusions of the book are the following: *

1. The direct attack on discrimination, as such, is more rewarding than a simple effort to erase prejudice. The latter is often a by-product of the former.

2. No single "front" (economic, political, educational) should be attacked alone. An effort to eradicate economic discrimination will bring into play educational methods and will involve political action.

3. Discrimination must be fought in terms of the common welfare rather than in terms of the interests of a particular group.

4. "Strategy should always be adapted to the prevailing mores."

5. Persons who are discriminated against have an important responsibility in the battle against discrimination — a responsibility which includes avoiding behavior which (although it may be the "natural" result of discrimination) serves to intensify the rationalizations of the discriminators.

With important amendments, MacIver follows the general analysis of discrimination used by Myrdal in *An American Dilemma*. There is an application of the "vicious circle" theory concerning discrimination, i.e., discrimination sets in motion certain consequences

THE REVIEWERS

Charles Lawrence, Jr., formerly professor of sociology at Fisk University, is now at Columbia University's graduate school of sociology, on fellowship . . . John M. Swomley, Jr. and George M. Houser (not Jr.) work for the FOR.

* Not in the order given by the author.

which themselves serve to justify and intensify the action in the eyes of the discriminator. Conversely, Myrdal held that any breach in the "vicious circle" would result in improvement all along the way. The present author amends this formulation by insisting that any change in the anti-discriminatory direction must be held constant long enough to enable these other adjustments to be made; for a single change, unsupported and unsustained, may simply be the signal for a stronger counter-attack by the opposition.

There is a "gradualism" in the MacIver book; but it must clearly be distinguished from the "do-nothing-gradualism" with which readers of FELLOWSHIP are all-too-often confronted. For example, he invokes the *mores*. Usually the *mores* are used as an excuse for inaction. However, MacIver demands an understanding of the *mores* as a means of discovering the points at which the greatest gains can be made. This is an important distinction; but one which is usually overlooked by those who would see the *mores* as unchanging and unchangeable, as well as by those who would disregard the importance of people's individual habits and corporate customs as real forces in the social scene.

—CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.

Personal Narrative

A Man Called White, by Walter White. The Viking Press, 1948. 382 pp., \$3.75.

Walter White, the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ever since 1931, is one of the many Negroes in Amer-

ica who chose to be a Negro. His skin is so light that he could "pass" for white at any time. Almost any person who is familiar with the race relations scene in America today can tell several stories about the strange situations in which Walter White has found himself on numerous occasions because of his skin color. Many of these incidents are related in White's autobiography, *A Man Called White*. It has been estimated that at least fifty thousand persons of Negro descent "pass" into the white community each year. But Walter White, very early in his life, decided to cast his lot in with the minority racial group. The moment of decision came during the Atlanta race riot of 1907 when a white mob only miraculously turned aside from burning the White home to the ground. White says of this in his autobiography: "[At that moment] I decided I would infinitely rather be what I was than, through taking advantage of the way of escape that was open to me, be one of the race which had forced the decision upon me."

This autobiography is important not because it reveals the innermost mental struggles of the author, or deals with a system of thought, but because it is a personal narrative about the organizational activities of the head of one of the most important mass organizations in American life today. The NAACP has half a million members. Walter White, early in 1948, was named one of the ten most influential men in the United States. One is impressed with the truth of this after reading this book, and seeing the part the NAACP and Walter White have played in helping to create a public opinion which condemns racial injustice, and a public

opinion friendly to the recent progressive decisions handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court. The book is a source for a personal, inside story of events which have captured the attention of all Americans—the Scottsboro case, Marian Anderson and the DAR, discrimination in the armed forces during World War II, the Detroit and New York race riots, the massacre in Columbia, Tennessee, the struggle against segregation in professional schools in the South, and the heart-rending facts in some of the lynchings which have taken place since the war.

The book closes on what I would interpret as a positive and pacifist note. White says: "I remember how I felt when I stood beside my father and feared that the whites would not let me live, that I must kill them first and then be killed. Yet I know, I know, I know that there is no reason for this killing, this hatred, this demarcation. There is no difference between the killer and the killed. Black is white and white is black. When one shoots the other, he kills his reflection. Only hate, the negative force, can separate them; only love, the positive force, can bind them together."

—GEORGE M. HOUSER

Brief Reviews

Facts About Occupied Germany, December 1948. Published by the American Association for a Democratic Germany. 4 pp.

An excellent and illuminating analysis of the present German economic situation and the factors which have brought considerable changes within the past year. The Marshall Plan, the currency re-

form, and a change in the attitude of the occupying powers have had far-reaching results, which are described here. FELLOWSHIP has a limited number, and will supply them free on request as long as they last.

* * *

The Snake Pit, by Mary Jane Ward. Signet Books, 1948. 188 pp., 25c.

An excellent book reprinted in paper covers, this is based on the author's own experiences, and tells of her struggle to regain her lost hold on sanity and reality. "A tremendously exciting account of . . . the fight of the human soul for its most precious possession, the realization and understanding of its identity."

World Fellowship Songs, compiled by Margaret W. Thomforde and Jessie W. Woods. 170 selections. 75c.

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men, have been omitted, and only those are here which will make the singers feel brotherhood, good will, and peace. The majority are hymns, many with new or recently-written words, but there are also camp songs, spirituals, and other songs beloved of pacifists.

Prison and Court Manual for COs, by Caleb Foote. CCCO, 1949. 40 pp., 50c.

Provides a layman's guide to the intricacies of court prosecution, and a detailed and excellent discussion of prison life, procedures and problems, including a lot of information not hitherto readily available. Particularly valuable for nonregistrants, both as a factual guide to legal procedures and as a preparation for life in prison.

1776 and All That, by Caleb Foote. CCCO, 1949. 13 pp., mimeographed. 10c.

An anthology of the statements of men throughout past centuries on resistance to unjust laws and the relation of higher laws to the laws of man. Valuable source material for COs facing draft boards or courts. C. M.

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A little over a year ago there was considerable stir in papers throughout the country about the report of the National Council Against Conscriptioin entitled "The Militarization of America," which gave evidence of the encroachment of the military influence in our foreign policy, the national economy, in science and education, industry and labor, and other fields. Now, following up with additional terrifying facts, the NCAC gives us

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Confession

After a long and gruelling session in the back room with some of the FOR's top executives, the WRL staff finally babbled a confession and led the way to a pumpkin containing over 300 copies of *Selections from War Without Violence* by Shridharani. This little classic has been out of print (or so we thought) for over a year, and we are glad to be able to offer it to you again.

Selections from War Without Violence, by Krishnalal Shridharani. 15c each, 25c for two, \$1.00 for ten.

The Pin

FOR members all over the country are wearing the FOR pin—a neat little blue, white and gold job that looks well in your lapel. You'll feel out of the swim if you don't get one yourself—or, if you prefer, a button that screws into your buttonhole. 75c each.

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Fellowship

Letters



To Russian People

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I should be interested to know the reaction of other FOR members to the proposal of our Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Church that President Truman be urged to "circumvent the Communist dictators with a direct appeal to the Russian people in behalf of peace."

The Conference recently adopted the report of its committee on world peace, declaring that "war is not inevitable if we will prosecute peace as zealously as we prosecuted war."

Echoing the suggestion of Drew Pearson that we pierce the iron curtain, a pertinent paragraph of the statement says:

Peace in the immediate future depends upon our relations with Russia. There *are* means short of war of opposing communism. The Kasenkina affair is only one of many evidences that the ruthlessness of communism has created for itself many enemies *within* the Soviet borders. Alexander Kerensky estimates that *less than ten per cent* of Russia's 180,000,000 people are loyal to the Communist Party. America must pierce the iron curtain and tell the Russian *people* that America does not want war. We must counteract the Communist's twisting of the news by giving the Russian people the truth about international affairs. Radio can penetrate the iron cur-

tain almost at will. Propaganda leaflets can be carried to Russia by high-flying planes and balloons, and thru bordering countries and Berlin.

The closing sentence of the report declares, "Our faith is not in Mars, the god of war, but in Christ, the Prince of Peace."

PHILIP E. PIERCE
Meridian, Mississippi

Farm and Community

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We now make our living entirely from a combination of farming and milling. We retail our produce by mail to all parts of the country. We are in our middle thirties, have three small children, and are fortunate in having Betty's father living with us.

We came to Penns Creek three years ago in response to a growing feeling that the rural community was our challenge and our opportunity. We have worked hard both to establish ourselves in the community and to get on our financial feet thru our own efforts. Only now are we beginning seriously to enter into the activities of the community and to realize thereby the prodigious need. Here on the edge of the beautiful Pennsylvania mountains one can find the most shocking intellectual, cultural and spiritual poverty imaginable. We have come to help in whatever way we can to enrich the lives of our neighbors.

But we need help. One family alone finds it quite difficult to make a living by farming without outside support, and still have time and energy to struggle almost alone against weighty odds in community work. Perhaps the greatest need is for a man who would be first a community member and second a doctor.

Next to a doctor, we need good school teachers. Few places in the state are more backward educationally. We need leaders for young people's groups, for adult education work and for community industrial enterprise.

And we need good neighbors! A nice small farm with good buildings, which borders our own farm, is for rent or for sale. We would be happy to work together with anyone living there, sharing with them whatever knowledge we have of organic farming methods, etc. Farm machinery—we use only horses—could be used in common, so that there would be little need at first along that line. And we could cooperate in all types of enterprises. There is certainly opportunity here for several families to develop means of making a good living. There is even a two-room cottage on our place which might be available at a reasonable rent to anyone interested in "joining in!"

Just a word about our local people. They are of sturdy, hard-working, scrupulously clean, honest, unimaginative, very conservative Pennsylvania Dutch stock. While accepting gladly some modern technical advances, the more vocal of them seem to resist wholeheartedly any social advance. They are ingrown, ridden with petty jealousies and misunderstandings, and of very narrow vision. But many of them feel that there is something larger than them-

selves and their town, and they sincerely want to do something towards realizing it, only leadership is lacking, and they don't know which way to turn.

Youngish parents, with children, are perhaps preferable here, but we would be happy to learn of anyone interested. If you want more details on any phases of this whole idea, or if you know of anyone who might be interested, would you be so kind as to let us know?

The challenge, for sturdy souls and true, is terrific!

PAUL AND BETTY KEENE
Penns Creek, Pa.

Live on Less

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

My hat is off to those who are refusing to support war by refusing to pay income taxes!

I would like to suggest an alternate method, and that is to live on an income below the taxable level. Disadvantages: You will not have much money to give to the peace movement. Advantages: You can give hours of service to the peace movement, since you will need fewer hours to earn a living. No one can force you to support war by attaching your bank account. No one can interrupt your work for peace by sending you to prison. You will not have so much more than your brothers and sisters in other parts of the world.

In case you think it can't be done, I might add that I have been living on ten dollars a week since 1941.

MILDRED RYDER
Philadelphia, Pa.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Far West: Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; Southwest: Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; Middle Atlantic: Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

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